As a result, "most marriages are still being contracted after both parties were first introduced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[33]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic and Political Role

A second step taken by the Communist regime to change radically the nature and function of the Chinese family was accomplished with the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual-aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social, political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform. Until it was completed in any area, no alternate organization to the family existed to assume its socio-economic role. This fact seem to explain why the Communists during the spring of 1953 limited their Marriage Law campaign in the country side to those areas where land reform had been accomplished.

Special organizations were set up to train and absorb the energies of women and children

33. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

668 organizations have been well calculated and effectively carried out. These policies encourage and regulate the activities and political utilization of mass organizations.

From the Party point of view, mass organizations are a political asset because each of these mass organizations represents a specific segment of the populace and is itself a social or economic force.

Immediately after the Communist seizure of power in this region, mass organizations sprang to life. Not until 1952, however, were mass organizations placed upon a permanent basis. There are as many mass organizations in this region as at the central level.[39] The most influential are examined to illustrate the patter of Party control.

•467 668 1. Trade Unions. Trade unions are regarded as the transmission belt between the Party and the workers.[40] Their

39. See Chao Kuo-chün, The Mass Organization in Communist China, Cambridge, Massachusetts, M.I.T., 1953.

40. Constitution of All-China Federation of Trade Unions in People's Daily, May 14, 1953, p. 2; English text in Current Background, No. 248, June 22, 1953.

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• 467 668 organization is patterned after that of the Party. A branch office of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions has been set up in the Southwest. Under this regional office, local trade union councils stretch from provinces, municipalities, and counties to towns. Since farmers and handicraft workers are ineligible, hsiang are not included.

The establishment of Party control over the trade unions in Southwest China did not prove to be an easy task. A sweeping and drastic campaign was required before control was comfortably secured. The "democratic reform" campaign, launched in 1951, was directed at the trade unions and was aimed at the liquidation of the old trade union leadership and the strengthening of the Party's hold on the urban population.[41]

To facilitate the Party's political control of trade unions, there is a basic trade union branch or cell, similar to the Party branch, composed of the trade union members working in the same enterprise. If the branch is of sufficient size, this basic trade union committee will set up a workshop (department) committee. The trade union

41. Reports of the campaign are printed in the following issues of the New China Daily, Nov. 24, 1951, p. 2; Nov. 25, 1951, p. 1; Jan. 1, 1952, p. 3.

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467 committee may be divided into trade union
668 teams according to production units. The general methods employed by the Party for political control of other organizations are applicable here. Trade union affairs are subject to the direction of the Party commission on trade unions; and Party members are placed in key positions within the unions.

However, the most effective method is the initiation of union policies in the Party rather than in the union.[42] This involves three steps: first, the Party branch within the union initiates major policies, including directives, working plans, and cadre policy. Secondly, the Party branch suggests to the presidium of the Trade Union Council policies in need of discussion. Party members elected to the presidium direct the trade union meeting and successfully guide the Party proposal through the presidium. Third, after the resolution is adopted, Party and corps members must accept it unconditionally and serve as activists to make certain that it is carried out.

668 2. Federation of Democratic Women. By October 1951 almost one-third of the women of Southwest China had become

42. People's Daily, May 8, 1953, p. 2.

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Annex "A," Subparagraph 3g,
Economic Background

LABOR

I. LABOR ORGANIZATION

•467 Southwest China was more economically backward than any other region of China proper when the Communists established their regime in October 1949. Before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Chinese industry had been concentrated on the east coast of such cities as Shanghai, Tientsin, and Canton. In the inland, Southwest provinces of Szechwan, Kweichow, Yunnan, and Sikang (now a part of Szechwan), industry had remained almost wholly in the handicraft stage. This situation was somewhat changed during the war when industrial plants removed from the coastal area and new factories were located in the Southwest, particularly at Chungking, Kunming, and Kweiyang. Many of the plants were discontinued after the war or removed to their original sites in the eastern cities.

The low stage of industrial development in the Southwest Region explains why the Communists' promotion of labor organization and the labor movement in the region has lagged behind similar efforts elsewhere in China. According to a Communist report of June 1950, there were only 177,670 industrial workers, including staff members, in the entire region. This number

467 constituted about 0.05 per cent of the total number of industrial workers in all China, although the population of the region accounts for 16.9 per cent of the population of the whole country. Of the 177,670 industrial workers, only 25,538 (14.37%) were unionized at the time the report was published.[1]

After three years' work on labor organization and the development of industry, the new regime announced in June 1952 that 35,259 basic trade unions (unions formed in individual factories, mines, and other enterprises) had been formed in the region.[2] The number of unionized industrial workers was reported to have increased from 25, 538 to 640,846, and the total of all unionized wage earners was set at 1,405,706.

438 However, in mid-1952, about 80 per cent of 466 the industrial output of Southwest China was still turned out by handcraft methods in small shops throughout the region.[3] Old fashioned workshops and some of the semi-modern factories continued to rely heavily on apprentices for labor. The

1. Chung-kuo Kung-jen [Chinese Worker Monthly], Peking, June 15, 1950, p. 69.
2. Hsin-hua Jih-pao [New China Daily], Chungking, Sept. 30, 1952, p. 1.
3. Chung-kuo Ch'ing-kung-yeh [China's Light Industry], Peking, May 1952, pp. 21-24.

438 treatment of apprentices under the new regime
466 still largely followed the old customs in Southwest China. The working hours of the apprentice were almost unrestricted; his earnings seldom amounted to more than 35 lbs. of rice per month. Since the trade union and labor insurance laws promulgated by the Communist government did not cover the apprentices, they had neither organization nor security. After a three year apprenticeship, they entered the labor market as unskilled labor.[4]

467 Chungking is the industrial and commercial center of Southwest China. As a result, almost all regional reports concerning organized labor refer solely to this city. Chungking was occupied by the Communists on November 30, 1949, and the Preparatory Committee of the Chungking General Trade Union was established on December 27. The committee consisted of 87 members, including representatives of miners, textile workers, telecommunication workers, and workers in other industrial enterprises. The initial tasks of the committee were the restoration of production and the organization of labor in the city. By September 1951, about 90 per cent of the city's 200,000 working population were reported to have joined trade unions.[5] A large part of the Chungking industrial force was working in arsenals in the suburbs of the city. These workers were more tightly controlled by the regime but better paid than

4. New China Daily, Oct. 9, 1951, p. 2.

5. Ibid., Oct. 1, 1951, p. 5.

467 the average worker. By mid-1953, 6,700 of the politically advanced industrial workers in Chungking were party members.[6]

II. LABOR DISPUTES AND LABOR BUREAU

468 According to Chinese Communist theory, labor and capital (or management in the case of publicly owned enterprises) perform different functions in striving for the identical goal of increased production; therefore, labor disputes should not be allowed to develop into strikes, sabotage, or lockouts which would interrupt production. To prevent crippling disputes, the regime has established a compulsory process of arbitration. The first step in settling labor differences consists of consultation between the owner and the trade union representatives of the workers in the case of privately owned enterprises, and between the trade union and the management in the case of publicly owned enterprises. If consultation fails, the dispute is taken to the labor bureau for settlement. Labor bureaus are maintained at all levels of the Communist government.[7] During the first half-year of Chungking's "liberation," some workers of privately-owned enterprises were reported to have submitted, under the guidance of trade unions

6. Kung-jen Jih-pao [Workers' Daily], July 1, 1953, p. 1.

7. "Measures Concerning Procedure of Settling Labor Disputes" issued by Ministry of Labor on Nov. 26, 1950. See Chung-yang Ts'ai-ching Cheng-t'se Fa-ling Hui-pien [Compendium of Laws and Regulations Concerning Financial and Economic Policies], Vol. II, Peking, pp. 1111-13.

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and the labor bureau, to a cut in wages of from 40 to 60 per cent to help tide the capitalists over a difficult period.[8] 468

On the basis of experience in settling labor disputes, the Ministry of Labor in April 1950 issued a "Directive Concerning the Establishment of Labor-Capital Consultative Councils in Privately Owned Enterprises." In accordance with the directive, 34 different groups of private enterprises in Chungking formed their labor-capital consultative councils between mid-1950 and mid-1951. Labor and capital were equally represented on the council. During the period, consultations between labor and capital in various Chungking enterprises resulted in 2,224 agreements which were submitted to the labor bureau for ratification. Almost without exception, matters brought up in the councils for consultation were concerned with wages and the discharges of workers.[9]

III. POLITICIAL INDOCTRINATION

The Communists insist that the strength and class consciousness of the workers can only grow out of political indoctrination. In the guise of implementing this dogma, the Communists initiated the "Democratic Reform" Movement among the working class in May 1951, followed by the Resist-America-Aid Korea Movement, the Suppression-of-Counterrevolutionaries Movement as well as the Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns. Through 467 668

8. Cheng-fu Kung-tso Pao-kao [Compendium of Government Reports], Peking, 1951, p. 1013; Workers' Daily, June 21, 1950, p.1.
9. New China Daily, Oct.10, 1951, p.2.

467 these drives, the Communists claim that trade
668 union organization was greatly expanded throughout the nation and the unity of the working class increased.

The "Democratic Reform" Movement was aimed specifically at the elimination of reactionary elements from labor organizations. Launched in Central-South China in May 1951, the movement was extended to the whole country in the following months. Its centers of action were the public and private factories, mind, and transportation systems.

To initiate "Democratic Reform" in any enterprise, the trade union leaders called meetings, at which everyone was free to make complaints or accusations against workers, union cadres, or managers. Once initiated, the campaign continued for days or weeks. In subsequent meetings, criticism and self-criticism were encouraged. The Communists claimed that many reactionary elements were disclosed this way. Within the transportation industry alone, 15,616 gang labor chiefs were said to have been eliminated throughout the country a few months after the movement started.[10]

The Communists claim that the conditions of construction workers at Ta-tu-k'ou and coal miners at the T'ien-fu mine, both in Chungking, were improved after the "Democratic Reform"

10. Current Background, Hong Kong, U.S. Consulate General, Oct. 15, 1951, No. 128.

467 Movement was initiated there in mid-1951. Prior
668 to the Communist regime, the system of recruitment in construction work and in the mining industry was known as the gang master system. The gang master made a contract with the head engineer or manager of a company to supply labor for certain jobs at a stipulated price. He employed villagers for low wages and pocketed the difference between his payroll and the contract price. According to the Communist press, when the Red Army took Chungking at the end of 1949, the gang labor chiefs infiltrated the labor organization and some of them even pretended to be activists. The Communists assert that in the criticism and self-criticism meetings these gang labor chiefs were discovered and eliminated from the labor organization in Chungking.[11]

IV. LABOR EMULATION AND PRODUCTION

466 Labor emulation is a Communist method
461 for increasing labor productivity without raising production costs. It was practiced in Communist China during the early 1940's in the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region.[12] Extended to all China in 1950, the labor emulation drive was stepped up in 1951 after the Chinese Communists entered the Korean War. According to the

11. New China Daily, Oct.10,12,14,1951; and Oct. 2,1952, p. 2.

12. Abundant Clothing; Sufficient Food, Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, May 1944.